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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

WE need him now—his rugged faith that held
Fast to the rock of Truth through all the days
Of moil and strife, the sleepless nights; upheld
By very God was he—that God who stays
All hero-souls who will but trust in Him,
And trusting, labor as if God were not.
His eyes beheld the stars, clouds could not dim
Their glory; but his task was not forgot:
To keep his people one; to hold them true
To that fair dream their fathers willed to them—
Freedom for all; to spur them; to renew
Their hopes in bitter days; strife to condemn.
Such was his task, and well his work was done—
Who willed us greater tasks, when set his sun.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL—
Notes 371
The Revival of Toryism.—FRANCIS NEILSON 373

THE PULPIT—
Repression the Road to Revolution (Concluded).—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 375

CONTRIBUTED—
The War Department and the Conscientious Objectors.—CHARLES F. DOLE 378
Mary Badollet Powell.—EDITH LLOYD JONES 379
The World's Judgment as to India's Right to Be Free.—J. T. SUNDERLAND 381
News from Europe.—H. S. N. 382

POETRY—
Abraham Lincoln, The Glory of Lincoln, The Patriot } THOMAS CURTIS CLARK { 369, 375, 378
Frank James Burke.—*Ruth Pearson* 379
Moods.—*Mary Badollet Powell* 380

THE STUDY TABLE—
On Jewish Themes.—FREDERICK STARR 381

THE FIELD—
An International Fraternity Among Women 383
Mr. Holmes in the Middle West 383
A Reminder 383

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EDITORS

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
FRANCIS NEILSON
JOHN MORRIS EVANS

ASSISTANT EDITOR

EDITH LLOYD JONES

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Harry Foster Burns
Charles W. Casson
George Willis Cooke
Percy M. Dawson
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Arthur L. Weatherly
James H. West

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXIV THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1920 NUMBER 24

"No man is good enough to govern another without the other's consent. When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man—then that is more than self-government—that is despotism.

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us; our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

—Abraham Lincoln.

We desire to call the attention of our readers to the announcement, in The Field on page 383, of the Middle West engagements of one of our editors, Rev. John Haynes Holmes of New York City, and to bespeak from all of our readers and their friends who are within reach of these cities a large attendance at these important meetings. E. LL. J.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

These are the words not of some crazy "Red" spoken in hatred of America, but of Abraham Lincoln (born February 12, 1809) spoken in his First Inaugural Address when the country was trembling on the brink of Civil War. It is well to remember this utterance at this time when it is commonly believed that "this country, with its institutions," belongs not to the people—which means everybody, minority and majority alike!—but to a certain self-selected group which chances to hold certain orthodox opinions on political and economic problems. Nothing more tyrannical or autocratic was ever known than the assumption that America is the private possession of Democrats or Republicans who believe in the capitalistic system, and is to be protected by them against those of their fellow-countrymen who believe in drastic changes. If the people, by orderly and legal processes, want to remake this government, do away with private property, organize Soviets, establish Communism, they have a perfect right to do so. The country is theirs, and not Attorney-General Palmer's, or Secretary Wilson's, or Speaker Sweet's, to do with as they see fit. And if today the people, or any section of the people however small, desire to advocate the adoption of Socialism, or Communism, or what not, that again is their privilege. It is this very right of a minority to be heard, to advocate such new forms of social order as they desire, to seek to change the government by such constitutional methods as provide for such change, which constitutes the distinctive feature of our American democracy. This country is in greater danger today than it ever was during the war against Germany. Its enemies are the ignorant and timid officials who are busy betraying its basic ideals. Let the spirit of Lincoln arise this day to confound them all!

No better time than this could be found for a reading afresh of the Lincoln literature. Lord Charnwood's recent biography is perhaps the best brief narrative which is now available. Morse's two-volume "Life" in the "American Statesman Series" still holds high rank. Worthy of particular mention also are Henry Bryan Binns's "Abraham Lincoln" and William Eleroy Curtis's "The True Abraham Lincoln." Of biographical studies of the great President, none is comparable to Alonzo Rothschild's "Lincoln, Master of Men." For the early portion of the story, Ida Tarbell's biography is valuable; and for young boys and girls nothing better has ever been written than Charles Carleton Coffin's "Life of Lincoln." Phillips Brooks's flaming sermon on Lincoln, preached on the Sunday following the assassination, and published in his volume of "Addresses," is one of the most memorable, as it certainly is the most eloquent, of all the occasional tributes spoken in a half-century. Poems on Lincoln should not be forgotten, as for example Lowell's passage in the "Commemoration Ode," Whitman's "Memories of President Lincoln," and Stoddard's matchless song, among what may be called the classics; and Edwin Markham's "Lincoln" and Vachel Lindsey's "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight" among more recent productions. And then there is John Drinkwater's drama, now being played in New York, and fortunately available in printed form.

Developments in the Russian situation are marching on as though shod with seven-league boots—and all in the direction which would have seemed inconceivable a few months ago. Trade relations, we now learn, while conducted with the Co-operative Societies, will be carried on under the direction of, and on the terms laid down by, the Lenine government. Poland is no longer to be sustained by England and France in her war against the Soviets, and peace may be expected at any time. What is coming, of course, is what we prophesied some weeks ago, and have for so long advocated, in these columns—namely, the recognition of the Soviet state, and its formal admission into the family of nations. Preparations for this amazing

consummation are already being made in our newspapers. Thus even our most reactionary journals—the *New York Times,* for example—have discovered that Denikine and Kolchak were what we have always said they were, the agents of Tsarist counter-revolution, and were defeated because they were warring not against the Bolsheviki but against the aroused and consecrated democracy of the Russian people. This admission, so gratifying to liberals everywhere, may now be expected to be followed by a new campaign of lies about Russia, for our tories are not going to confess openly that they have been deceived, or have themselves endeavored unscrupulously to deceive others. What we shall now be told is that the Bolsheviki are not Communists after all, that they have made all manner of concessions to capitalism, that they are succeeding only in so far as they are throwing their economic radicalism overboard and adopting the tried and tested methods of our industrial system. These statements, of course, will be as groundless as the innumerable yarns which have been spun in recent years about the overthrow of religion, the nationalization of women, etc. But they will be told in infinite detail, in order that the recognition of Lenine and the success of his regime, may not lead us astray. Happily, we can look upon this prospect with equanimity. The Russian people will be left free to work out their own destiny, which is the main thing; and lies can still be trusted to be found out in the end.

No indication of changes in the religious world is more significant than the growing reluctance of orthodox ministers who have lost their faith, or their place in their own particular church, to enter the Unitarian or other liberal church. Time was when the Unitarian denomination was the favorite asylum of Protestant heretics, and many of these still seek refuge there each year. But this is not so true today as it was yesterday, and it is not unlikely to end altogether tomorrow. Striking also is it to observe the number of heretical refugees who enter the Unitarian or some other liberal fold, only to drift away after a short interval of disappointing service. The fact of the matter is, there is no longer any sharp line of theological or spiritual demarcation between orthodox Protestantism on the one hand and liberal Protestantism on the other. The divisive issues were at one time definite, and a man found peace of mind and a field of usefulness in the one fold which had been lost or denied him in the other. But now the situation is changed. The distinction today is not between one set of denominational churches and another, but between all denominational churches together and that great inchoate mass of spontaneous religious life which is now so rapidly shaping itself on every hand. The heretic today knows that the situation in the liberal churches, on all the matters that really count, is much the same as in the orthodox churches. Therefore he goes not into Unitarianism or Universalism, but into social service, or the labor movement, or some independent church activity along the lines of community organization. The established churches are being weighed in the balances by earnest souls, and they are *all* found wanting!

Indications are multiplying that our Protestant churches are beginning to recognize the way of escape from the doom that threatens them. The Interchurch World Movement is the most impressive illustration of this fact—no question in the religious world today is more exciting than that of the ability of this Movement to fulful its promise. Another sign is that of the unanimous decision of the two main branches of Methodism in this country to unite, and thus heal the breach created by the slavery issue in 1844. Desire for reunion has shown itself for more than a quarter of a century past, in discussions at the quadrennial conferences of both wings, North and South; but only now has discusson ended in favorable action. It is melancholy, and at the same time a little amusing, to note that there are still sixteen separate bodies of Methodists in America. A good deal of sectarianism still remains among us! But these two great branches, now happily united, enroll over one-half of all the members of Methodist churches, and control the majority of the property. This action is a significant aspect of the general tendency prevailing today toward church unity. We congratulate our brethren on an able piece of statesmanship, and a fine manifestation of Christian spirit. The Methodists are again, as oftentimes before, in the vanguard of spiritual progress.

Some months ago, we wrote in these columns of the possibility of a strike of ministers for higher salaries. We must confess that we wrote "in the spirit of mockery," for we hardly thought that such a strike was a serious possibility. We are beginning to wonder, however, if our jesting was not more in earnest than even we ourselves had supposed, for here comes word from St. Louis that the church organists of that city are proposing to take immediate steps to bring about a strike on May 1st, unless local congregations undertake to increase salaries. The average pay of organists in St. Louis, it is stated, is $40 per month; only three organists receive $1,200 a year or more. Ernest R. Kroeger, composer, declares that St. Louis congregations are not unappreciative of good organ music, but are inclined to regard organists as being on the same plane with janitors. Now, organists are not ministers, and a strike of organists would hardly be the same thing as a strike of ministers. But ecnomically they are on the same plane—something lower than that of janitors, we should say!—and the grievances of the one are the grievances of the other.

Personally, we should like to see the organists try this experiment of a strike, if only to discover what would happen. Would people care enough about their churches to keep them open even at the cost of a living wage for organists; or would they be glad to be relieved of this obligation of church support, and let the organists go? One reason, we imagine, why ministers have never gone out on strike, is their fear that nobody would particularly care. This proposed expermiment of an organists' strike would shed light upon this situation.

The creation of a literature of the community church is one of the most pressing needs of the present moment. Dr. Joseph McAfee's pamphlet, "Religion and the New American Democracy," together with certain fugitive articles and sermons, has for some time now contained the only material available. Last month, however, appeared an important book, entitled "The Community Church," written by Dr. Henry E. Jackson of the U. S. Department of Education, and published by Houghton, Mifflin Company. Presenting the problem very largely from the standpoint of his own personal experience in the ministry, Dr. Jackson gives a vivid picture of the compulsion of the community movement in this modern age, and describes in detail the new type of church which is to embody and give expression to this movement. His approach to the question is somewhat different from that of UNITY, but in spirit and ideal it is the same. We urge our readers to give earnest attention to this publication.

The Revival of Toryism

"Recruits! In the sight of the altar and the servant of God you swore allegiance to me. You are still too young to understand the true meaning of everything which is said here, but see to this, that you first of all follow the commands and instructions given you. You have sworn allegiance to me; this, children of my guard, means that you are now my soldiers, that you have surrendered your souls and bodies to me. For you there now exists but one enemy, namely, the one who is my enemy. With the present socialistic propaganda it may happen that I will command you to shoot at your own relatives, your brothers, even parents,—which God forefend,—and then you are obliged without murmuring to do my commands."—*Kaiser Wilhelm,* 1891.

"I am exceedingly sorry that I had to sentence Mr. Berger to twenty years in prison. I was deeply displeased because I think the laws of this country should enable me to have Berger lined up against a wall and shot."—*Judge Landis,* 1919.

"It is dangerous in any government to say to a nation, *Thou shalt not read.* This is now done in Spain, and was formerly done under the old government of France; but it served to procure the downfall of the latter, and is subverting that of the former; and it will have the same tendency in all countries; because Thought, by some means or other, is got abroad in the world, and cannot be restrained, though reading may."

—*Thomas Paine,* 1792.

When the Kaiser in 1891 made his infamous address to the recruits of Germany, many of the leading journals of the world in commenting upon his speech wondered if the German ruler had taken leave of his senses. Not for nearly a hundred years had anyone spoken the brazen truth with so much courage and so little shame. The decent-minded folk of Europe seemed to be mortally shocked at the Kaiser's pronouncement, and many there were who asked whether it meant a return to barbarism. Well, time works wondrous changes even within a generation. The change that has taken place in Germany is so extraordinary that recruits will never hear another Kaiser tell them that he might call upon them to shoot their relatives, or their brothers, or their parents; for the Kaiser is dethroned and an exile in Holland. The change was brought about by a combination of the forces of democratic governments which regarded the Emperor of Germany and his bureaucracy as grave dangers to Western civilization. The combination of Powers representing the democratic governments of the world, with the notable exception of Switzerland, considered the Empire of Germany in its economic, political, and commercial character a menace to democracy, and decided that its overthrow was essential for the welfare, peace, and good-will of all Christian peoples. And now that the combination of Powers has carried out its set purpose, we may be relieved to know that rulers and others may be spared the political and military necessity of waisting money on explosives.

There is, however, a question which arises that seems to puzzle a good many people, and it is this: Are explosives efficacious in destroying thought? Now this should be a very simple question to answer if questioners would be satisfied with a historical statement of the case. Any history, of any country, at any period of civilization, would be sufficient for any intelligent questioner, if history were in good standing, but unfortunately there seems to be an idea prevalent that history can teach us nothing. Nevertheless, an American student might be vain enough to imagine that the history of these States was sufficient to prove the utter powerlessness of the explosive for destroying thought. There is sufficient data to be found in the story of the American Revolution to fill the mind of

the ordinary citizen with vistas of reflection on this subject. George III and North were under the impression that explosives would be quite sufficient to destroy the thought of independence. But they were mistaken. Of course, as regards Great Britain and France, their histories are packed full of information which proves in the most conclusive manner that explosives are useless for this purpose. The English have a saying, " 'Eave 'arf a brick at 'im," which denotes the unintelligent manner of answering an argument. That was practically the method of the Kaiser when he addressed his conscripts in 1891. The Czar of Russia practised the same methods, but where is the Czar now? The Hapsburgs answered arguments of certain people in about the same way, but they have now no power to line folk up against a wall and order others to do the shooting. It is a strange world in which we live: a rather annoying one for people who find they cannot work their own sweet will upon their political opponents.

What is at the back of the idea of using the explosive as a method of destroying thought? It is fear, nothing more or less than fear, which haunts the mind of those who would use explosives for the purpose of killing thought. Now this may seem very strange to superficial thinkers who imagine that force is strength, who labor under the delusion that power itself contains some inherent quality which sends it always triumphing over every obstacle. That this is not so should be plain to every one who will give the subject a moment's consideration. What have we seen during the past six years? All the chief governments of the world in a state of panic, fear, and nothing but fear, prompting every action of importance that has taken place. And now some of the astutest minds of Europe, in their literary contributions on the war and its manifold phases, tell us that fear has been at the bottom of the whole business. There is scarcely a work of any importance that has been issued in Europe of recent years, dealing with the political, military, and naval affairs of European governments, that has not struck this note of fear, which has dominated the leading national minds. Let us turn to "Germany in Peril," by Colonel Arthur Boucher, one of the most popular military writers in France, or to Lieut. Col. Grouard's book, "The Ultimate War"; in both books the note of fear stands out predominantly. Or let us take another book, from an entirely different French source, that of Marcel Sembat: "Faites un roi si non faites la paix"—a work widely circulated in France before the war; it reached its twelfth edition in 1913. Fear is the all-pervading atmosphere of M. Sembat's work. So it was in General Bernhardi's work "Germany and the Next War." If we turn to the British military writers, Col. Maude, Major Stewart Murray, and Dr. Miller Maguire, we find the same note. Fear animates every preparation of the governments. Turning to another writer, one who possesses perhaps the greatest mental equipment for understanding these great events, the Hon. Bertrand Russell, we find in his work, "War, the Offspring of Fear," this statement of the case:

> "It is the universal reign of Fear which has caused the system of alliances, believed to be a guarantee of peace, but now proved to be the cause of world-wide disaster . . . And this universal Fear has at last produced a cataclysm far greater than any of those which it was hoped to avert."

There is, however, fear of another kind which is to be considered, and that is the fear which is referred to in the third quotation at the head of this article which is taken from Thomas Paine's "Address to the Addressers." Now this fear is nearly always to be found in the mind of the Tory, and there it breeds and thrives so long as the Tory has political power, but the explosive of the Tory, his hangman's rope, his headsman's axe, are no more efficacious in destroying the thought that scares him than are the arsenals and armories of a government. Only thought can kill thought. And it is just as well this should be; had it been otherwise the independent states of America would have never come into being. Furthermore, science would have been suppressed in the Dark Ages, and invention would have been prohibited long before Arkwright's day. The fate of Bruno and Galileo should be a warning to all those who would have their political opponents lined up against a wall and shot. What would have happened to the railway steam engine if some of the more ignorant Tory landlords of England had been successful in their opposition to Stephenson and Huskisson? Surely we forget this all-important factor that thought is not national, and though thought-killers might order men to be shot in one country, thought would spring up in another, and time would work its vengeance on those who wished to destroy by violence what only the mind of man can effectively deal with. What better example is there of the international character of thought than that of Thomas Paine, carrying his ideas of independence from England to America, and from America to France, and then to England! How short-sighted folk are who hug to themselves the delusion that they stand at the center of the world of thought, and that any act of theirs, no matter how violent it may be, will set back for one single moment the great tidal waves of thought that sweep over rulers and systems, no matter how autocratic they may be, how long their dynasties have held the bodies of their people in subjection.

Why should it be in science, literature, and art an event of great importance when someone appears upon the scene with a new thought, that the bearer of it is

given welcome, afforded every opportunity to prove its worth, and that in religion and politics the bearer of a new thought is reviled and condemned? We put the question in this form, waiving exceptions, and disregarding the age and freshness of the thought, because we are presuming an intellectual community, a society of thinkers. We are fully conscious of the past, all that the workers in science, literature, and art, have suffered from ignorance and persecuting autocrats. But now it is different in these fields of thought. Not so in religion and politics, whose fields must lie fallow, lest a crop should spring up that might bear some tares with it. Why we should be afraid of the tares of thought at this stage of our development it is hard to say. Those philosophers who somewhat hastily attribute this fear to sheer ignorance help us very little in our striving to understand the question. There may be, however, some truth in that conclusion, for we have always noticed that the man who has a good cause, a good case, never reckons the odds against him, and seeks cheerfully in every direction free and open discussion of it. He knows quite well that discussion is invaluable to him.

The revival of the Toryism of the end of the eighteenth century which is making headway among some sections of our society is one of the most dangerous manifestations of war and its consequences. If the American people permit it to go on unchallenged it may lead us into a position from which it will take long years to extricate ourselves. Let there be no mistake about this. But what we need is courage to think clearly and act wisely in the interests of all that is best in this land of marvellous democratic possibilities. In the past we have won signal victories by thought meeting thought, argument answering argument and this method is thoroughly American. Therefore let us have done with the methods of a Prussian military school.

It is high time the political and religious autocrats of our day should understand a new world of thought has arisen in Europe, and, though governments and political boundaries are unstable, new thought is animating the intelligent people of all classes, boding ill for all who place their faith in the power of the explosive for destroying thought.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

THE GLORY OF LINCOLN.

Who builds of stone a shrine to bear his name,
Shall be forgot when months and years have flown;
Who writes his name upon the scroll of fame,
The centuries shall find to men unknown;
But who for fellow-men endured the shame
Shall have eternal glory for his own.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

THE PULPIT

Repression the Road to Revolution

By REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

(Concluded.)

But, I hear somebody say, there is no question at this time of visiting repression upon any man, of any variety of opinion, who seeks to carry out his purposes of change by legal means. It is the advocate of violence that we are after, as a man who would destroy for selfish purposes the fabric of the Republic. For the man who would agitate by methods of persuasion and political action, we have nothing but respect and equal freedom. But for the man who would use force to achieve his ends, we have nothing but "blood and iron." This country must be protected from revolution, and for this protection, in times like these, nothing but the most vigorous methods of repression are adequate.

This brings me at once to the third delusion under which we are laboring at this hour—and this the most dangerous delusion of all! I refer to the idea that repression can ever accomplish anything in the way of protecting society from violent revolution. So far is this idea from being true to the facts, that I believe it no exaggeration to say that repression is perhaps the shortest road to that revolution which it is supposed to prevent. "Repression," says President Wilson, using another figure of speech in the statement which I have taken for my text, "repression is the seed of revolution."

To demonstrate the truth of this assertion, it is only necessary to turn to the pages of history, and read there the long continued story, running through every age of human experience, of the repression that leads to revolution. For there is nothing particularly new in the policy that is now being carried out so devotedly in this country. Our officials are simply walking in the footsteps of a vast host of emperors and kings, who have tried repression to the limit, and always in the end to their own humiliation and defeat. Why, it was in just such an experience as this, if our present rulers only had sense enough to remember it, that the United States was brought into being as a separate and independent nation. George III had an idea that repression was the right remedy for social unrest and disturbance in these thirteen colonies. He believed exactly as does our Attorney-General today, that if you fill a country with spies, arrest and imprison all citizens who dare for a moment to think for themselves, suppress newspapers and break up public meetings and proclaim martial law, the people will be successfully terrorized, and thus made loyally obedient to their sovereign. But George III discovered that he had made a terrible mistake—that his policy of repression, so far from quieting the Americans, was the very thing that brought about the triumphant revolution which cost his kingdom the most precious jewel in its crown.

The same lesson has been taught so many times as to defy enumeration. The English, as though they had learned nothing in America, have tried repression in Ireland for a hundred years, with the result that the Irish are more irreconcilable today than ever before. The Austrians tried repression in Italy, with a severity unmatched in modern times, with the dramatic re-

sult of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, and the establishment of the Kingdom of United Italy. The Russians developed a system of repression which for completeness of efficiency is destined perhaps to stand as a model for all future time, and for years this system seemed to justify itself by the success with which it uprooted and destroyed one revolutionary movement after another. But the significant thing is that, while revolutionary movements were destroyed, the revolutionary spirit remained untouched. Nay, it flourished in the atmosphere of repression; and has now resulted in a movement which threatens to engulf the world. So it has always been; "as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be." And yet there are those in America who do not know, or will not know; and think that they can do with this weapon of repression what has never been done before, even by those who have known neither legal restraint nor moral scruple!

The certainty of the failure of repression as a method of quieting agitation—the equal certainty of its success as a method of fostering revolution—becomes easily understandable, if we turn from history to psychology, and analyze some of the factors that are involved. What does the government do, not with the bodies but with the minds of people, when it becomes terrified for its own safety, and makes resort to repression?

The first thing that a repressive government accomplishes is to give people a case against itself—to convince people that they are right in desiring to weaken or destroy it. Here is a refugee from Russia, let us say. He has never known any government but that of the Czar. Government, therefore, to him, is synonymous with tyranny, just as the church to many people is synonymous with superstition; and he is honestly convinced, as a result of his experience, that the only way to secure freedom is to destroy government. No line of thought could be more logical than this, in the case of the man whose political experience has been limited to Russia before the War. In coming to America, he is reminded of wonderful stories about freedom in this country—he is told these stories anew upon his arrival. But he is suspicious—he will "wait and see"—government is government, and what the rulers do in one country, they will in all probability do in another! Then, like a cloudburst, there comes the Espionage Law, the Conscription Act, the arrest and imprisonment of political offenders, the suppression of newspapers and public meetings, and as a climax the raids, seizures and deportations. Instantly this man finds his suspicions justified. He discovers that he was right after all. America is just like Russia—government in one place is just like government in another—freedom is synonymous with destruction of all government! Repression, in other words, has done its perfect work. It has given a case to its enemies. It has taken a frightened, suspicious refugee from tyranny, all ready to be converted into a good American by friendliness and good will, and confirmed him in anarchy. Thousands and tens of thousands have been confirmed in the last few weeks by the intolerable activities of the Department of Justice. Three hundred aliens are deported, and thus unquestionably gotten rid of: but in their place there spring up three thousand or three hundred thousand aliens, hitherto peaceful and contented, who use this deportation as argument to justify revolt.

If this were all that is accomplished by repression, the situation perhaps would not be so serious. For few men act upon rational conviction, or determine their lives by argument. The springs of action, said Herbert Spencer, are not intellectual but emotional. Men act not when their minds are convinced, but when their sentiments are stirred. Governments understand this well enough in ordinary times. They know perfectly well that security is dependent not so much upon the judgment as upon the feeling of the people. They are not slow to invent devices for stirring up this feeling, so that in the love of men the nation may find its strength. And yet it is in times like these, when the country is most in need of the love of all the people, that the government turns to repression, and therewith accomplishes a second thing disastrous to itself. I refer to the fact that the government, through its policy of repression, teaches thousands of persons who love it, or are ready to love it, to hate it for its injustice and cruelty. Every alien deported, every citizen arrested and imprisoned, not for crime but for opinion, is turned from a potential lover into a potential hater of his country. And around each single person thus oppressed, there are friends and kinsmen by the score, who are taught to feel the same sentiments of indignation as flourish in the soul of the one who suffers. And this has another side which is equally disastrous; for repression not only kills in the hearts of thousands all love for the government, but it develops in those same hearts a new and terrible love for the enemies of the government. This country has had its enemies in the past, as every country has had them; but those enemies have been able to accomplish nothing, for the reason that they have never been able to win the confidence and love of the people. The people have had no grievances against the government—they have loved it and not hated it, and, therefore, desired it to be not destroyed but maintained. In Russia in the old days, however, it was very different. The enemies of the government there were dangerous, for the reason that they had the love of the people, just as the government had their hate. The two things, in other words, go together. To hate a government, means sooner or later to love the man who would destroy that government. For this reason do we have a situation in this country today, which for the first time in its history, is dangerous. America through her policy of repression, is stirring the emotions of the people in just the way best calculated to do her ill. It is discouraging, if not actually destroying, its friends; it is strengthening, just as Russia strengthened the Nihilists, and England today is strengthening the Sein Feiners, such enemies as she may have. It is for this reason, based on the psychology of emotion, that repression must be described as the road to revolution. The maddest "red" in this country today can have no other desire than that the government may continue steadfastly in the direction in which it is now moving.

But there is a third thing accomplished by repression, that leads to revolution. I refer to the fact that repression gives the example, sets the pace, for the use of violence. Nothing in this world is more contagious than example, for the reason that man is essentially an imitative creature. In this case, the government, in dealing with its people, refuses to talk or to listen. It declines to give an accused man his

day in court. It declares that the remedy for the discontented laborer is the policeman's club, or the army's machine gun. It asserts that the place for the agitator and reformer is the prison cell. It takes the confused or maladjusted alien to Ellis Island, and teaches him that the answer to his question is deportation. Repression, after all, is simply the use, by law or in spite of law, of violence. Its result is always to drive agitation out of the warm free air of out-of-doors, into the dark and gloomy channels of underground conspiracy. And it is there, in these places hidden away from the air and light of day, that the argument of "violence for violence" is irresistible. If the reactionaries in this country want to make sure of assassinations and riots and revolts, let them continue in the way that they now are going. Let them refuse to men the opportunity of speech, let them rob men of representation in Congress and in the New York Assembly, let them deny men the ballot and the right of open political organization! Violence of this kind in the past has always been met by violence—force has been matched by force—repression by revolution. And I see no element in the present situation which will prevent the habit of the ages from taking the same course here in America as elsewhere. The laws of psychology are not suspended on our soil, any more than the laws of astronomy are suspended in our skies. "Things are what they are," said Bishop Butler, "and they will be what they will be."

It is for reasons such as these that I declare, in the words of our text, that "repression is the seed of revolution." There is no country in the world where revolution in terms of violence is more unnecessary, or violent conspiracy more indefensible, than in America. Our government is flexible, we have the constitutional guarantees of free discussion and association, we have schools for the training of the ignorant and alien. It would seem to be impossible to start a revolution here. But the impossible may easily be made possible, if we refuse to preserve the institutions and traditions which are ours. A true America is safe against all conspiracy, but an America transformed into a second imperial Russia must sooner or later meet the destiny of the first.

But what are we going to do, you ask, to protect the government from the enemies in our midst who are undoubtedly ready to visit bloodshed and madness upon us? If we do not suppress these conspirators against the order and safety of the Republic, what can we do with them? What policy would you suggest, in place of that which is now being followed by our public officials at this moment?

I answer these questions by the famous words spoken by Count de Tocqueville, in the French Chamber of Deputies, in the year 1848. Reviewing the agitated conditions of the time—so agitated that he gave it as his "profound conviction" that "we are slumbering upon a volcano"—and deprecating the tyranny practiced by the administration, he exclaimed, amid the hostile cries of his audience, "Change the spirit of the government; for God's sake, change the spirit of the government, for that spirit is leading us to destruction."

That de Tocqueville was right in his prophecy, is shown by the fact that this speech was delivered on the eve of the great revolution of 1848, which overthrew King Louis Phillipe, and destroyed his government. Nothing could have saved the situation, as it then existed, but a "change in the spirit of the government." And the same thing is true in our time. We must "change the spirit of the government." Nor is it difficult to indicate what such "change" involves.

What we have before us today is unprecedented social unrest. This unrest is in places developing unquestionably into seditious agitations and conspiracies. What we have to do is not to repress these agitations, and thus drive them deeper underground and make them more dangerously explosive than ever, but to do what Lord Bacon recommended centuries ago in his essay on "Seditions and Troubles." "Concerning the materials of seditions," he says, "it is a thing well to be considered: for the surest way to prevent seditions . . . is to take away the matter of them. Or if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. . . . As for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease."

In this passage, Lord Bacon is having resort to the law of causation—a law as true in society as in physics—that where there is a phenomenon, there is a cause for that phenomenon; and that if the phenomenon is to be removed, the cause must be removed. If there is social unrest abroad in the land today, there are causes for it; nor are these causes difficult to discover.

First of all, there is the fact of repression itself, as we have seen. It is a significant thing, as Senator France of Maryland pointed out the other day, that unrest in this country, in an acute and seditious form, appeared just after the passage of the Espionage Act, in 1917. That act, in other words, instead of allaying unrest, created it; and this unrest has been growing in intensity and vigor just as fast and as far as new repressive measures have been directed against it. Repression, in other words, is itself a cause of the unrest which it is supposed to cure. Repression must itself be ended, if unrest is to be ended. The first thing which we must do today, to heal our disorders, is to repeal our laws of repression, cease our acts of repression, and return to those orderly ways of law and justice which were once our ancient custom. Let it be understood that once again, not opinion, but only crime, is to be pursued and punished in this country, and unrest in its most acute form will disappear.

But there are, of course, deeper causes of the social unrest of our day than the repression which is now upon us—causes rooted in what Bacon calls "poverty and discontentments." What these causes are is known to nobody but the people who are restless. If we would find and remove, therefore, the troubles that beset the land, let us do what we have always hitherto done in this country—listen to grievances, and then do what government is established to do, make redress of grievances. The sound method of procedure to be used today, has been so well stated in an "Address to the President," by Dr. Edward T. Devine, one of the most learned and moderate social leaders of our time, that I venture to quote *in extenso* his weighty words:

"Let all of those who have grievances be openly . . . invited to voice them. Let President Wilson and every governor and every mayor designate great public meeting places—in halls and in public parks—where the freely chosen representatives of every group . . . may express their views. Let the secret service men attend, not to find victims for prosecution, but to catch the faintest whisper of a just complaint. Let legislative assemblies give patient hearing to delegates who come

to them from such assemblies. Let grand juries weigh their complaints, whether against individuals or against any existing abuse which might be remedied. Let the industries be represented by their detectives, not to spot agitators to discharge them, but to make careful notes of any bad practices which might be reformed. Let radical journals be published freely . . . and let courts, prosecutors, legislators and executors study them anxiously, to see what evidence they may possibly present of crimes which they have overlooked. . . Let it be considered bad form to characterize any man as a Bolshevist merely because you do not agree with him. . . . Let us have parades of Socialists or Communists, or Christians, or any other sect that can muster enough enthusiasm and confidence in their cause to make a showing. Let us make it the greatest offense against morals and manners to silence the voice of a prophet; to refuse a respectful hearing to those who speak in the name of a more perfect justice, in the name of a better social order."

By such methods would we discover the causes of unrest; by such a spirit could we end them; and by thus ending them, end the "seditions and troubles" that beset us.

The whole truth, after all, is summed up by Ralph Waldo Emerson in his essay on "Politics." We foolish people still rely on force, not yet learning that force can only bring us force, as hate brings hate. Not yet have we dared to try "the power of love, as the basis of a State." But when we do, we shall discover, as all great prophets have affirmed, "that thousands of human beings might share and obey each with the other the grandest and truest sentiments, as well as a knot of friends, or a pair of lovers."

THE PATRIOT.

He was a true American,
A king of earth, in peasant guise,
A freeman whom the truth made free,
A patriot whom love made wise.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

"It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed."

"Labor is the superior of capital and deserves higher consideration. And inasmuch as most things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things belong of right to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue."

"To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any government. It seems strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces."

"When it comes to a question between a man and a dollar, I am on the side of the man every time."

—*Abraham Lincoln.*

CONTRIBUTED

The War Department and the Conscientious Objectors

The editors and readers of UNITY have always been concerned about the fate of the conscientious objectors. They may therefore be interested to hear something of the little group still confined at Alcatraz. Many of the men sent there have already been released and in deference to pressure from outside their general treatment has been improved since they were dispatched from Leavenworth in irons like wild beasts. The abominable solitary cell is not now in use. The food is satisfactory. The command is in the hands of a West Point army officer who does not uphold illegality in the treatment of the prisoners.

The situation, however, even at the best, presents an almost hopeless incongruity. The officer prepossessed with the military point of view can no more come alongside the mind of one who sees the fundamental inhumanity of war, or who has a class conscious sense of the imperialistic nature of this particular war, than a faithful son of the church in the sixteenth century could understand the position of the Protestant or free thinker. The militarist sees men as good or bad material to make soldiers. He has no use for a man who will not obey orders and fight for his government. A thinking soldier of any rank is a dangerous man for war purposes. What business has a young private to ask questions? You can see the antagonism that appears when the men of the officer caste have something like the power of life and death over men with minds and sensitive consciences, committed to their charge for disgrace and punishment. The most decent military prison is worse in this respect than the ordinary treatment of civilian offenders; and we are learning how inhuman and brutalizing this is! Imagine a clean-minded, inquisitive youth, hungry for thoughtful reading, debarred from the use of the prison library, all his letters censored, the *Nation* and other papers liable to be withheld as dangerous, and the least possible freedom to write letters to his friends.

The prison rules seem to allow repeated courts martial for what civilians would call the same offense, namely, refusal to obey military orders. Thus a man serving a term of six years may be threatened with successive sentences for each act of disobedience, all, however, because the man will not play the part of a soldier. Why, the official asks, should a private set up his tiny will against the authority of the government? This hopeless clash of wills constitutes an intolerable human condition.

My strong impression is that the War Department has only begun to think out its policy toward the conscientious objectors. One of the heaviest counts against war is, that it creates, as fast as civilization advances, a whole new group of distressing anomalies. A considerable class of men and women appear today in the very midst of war who cannot be forced to fight; they are destined to increase in number, and to confound the war departments of every progressive nation, till armies and navies cease to be. Modern sentiment will not let you slaughter them in cold blood. They will become too many to imprison. In many cases they are sustained by the sense of an infinite spiritual

obligation. The consciousness of an invisible bond of human brotherhood supports others. All history goes to show the folly of the effort to break such men's wills. Moreover, no form of religion can long survive which does not establish new arguments in favor of these men, and against their persecuters.

The War Department has half recognized these facts. The "C. O.'s" have been constituted into a class, and have all been passed through examinations to determine their sincerity. Here the authorities made their mistake. When they judged a man *conscientious* in his opposition to war, they might still detain him, but they ceased to have any excuse for pursuing him with further disgrace or punishment. No human authority can make a man's conscience the subject of punishment! You have given him a new status, as honorable as if, for example, he were an interned alien.

Instead of taking this course, our War Department continued to hold these men in humiliation and punishment, and even sought to break their wills. They are doing this now for no "war necessity" to quite a number of prisoners, long after the war, in which they were drafted to serve, has virtually ended.

Some may say: "What fools these boys are! Let them obey orders and work." They do not object to work. They object to be treated as soldiers, under punishment for refractory conduct, whereas the one point of their offense has always been that they could not honestly accept the status of soldiers. Indeed they have never been sworn into the army. Their entire refusal of militarism is the one reason for their having been given a sort of exceptional treatment as a class by themselves. Why, then, should the government insist upon their obedience to military discipline, and enforce work upon them as a *punishment* for criminal conduct?

They are neither soldiers nor criminals. If there are cranks among them, so there are in every group of human beings. They certainly possess the material to make excellent citizens. Some of them are of the noblest character. If we call them boys, they deserve the consideration due from grown-up people to boys passing through the costly process of becoming men. Meanwhile our government is doing its utmost to spoil them, to twist their consciences, and to embitter their minds, if not to drive them crazy.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

FRANK JAMES BURKE.

(Conscientious Objector who died at Fort Douglas, Utah, July 30, 1919.)

That you should leave your stone-gray prison—free—
Before our fumbling, awkward hands could know,
Before our dragging feet could learn to go
With you along the corridor—for me
This is a shameful thing. The unused key
Lies rusting in our grasp. Barred gates below
Stand back against the sudden morning glow
Your dying sheds about us. . . . Who will see?

Strange upper paths, more friendly for your going,
High winds that, howling, failed to conquer you,
And deep, free spaces for your spirit's knowing,
Are calling us to dare to follow you.
Oh, Youth, so swiftly, beautifully fled
On wings of light denied us—are you dead?

The Liberator. —*Ruth R. Pearson.*

Mary Badollet Powell

On January 24th came the word that one more faithful friend of UNITY, and all it stands for, "a member of the old guard," had taken a step forward. For nearly twenty-four years Mrs. Powell has been a member of All Souls Church, a regular attendant at its services in storm or sunshine. No listener brought a more open mind or a keener desire not only to catch the helpful note in the sermon but its spiritual and literary value, and no one gave more unstinting devotion and help to her long time friend and pastor, Jenkin Lloyd Jones. She was a director of the Unity Publishing Company and many of our readers will remember her frequent contributions to this paper.

Mrs. Powell's early life belongs to the period which antedates railroads when the prairie schooner was the accepted means of transportation. We are indebted to her son Chauncey for the following brief sketch which tells of those earlier pioneer days, and which will be of great interest to her many friends:

"My mother was born May 7, 1856, in Terre Haute, Indiana. Both her father's and mother's families had lived in Vincennes for many years, her father's people being among the French settlers who lived there before the Revolution. In 1860 her parents moved to Denver. Prior to that her father had joined in the 'gold rush' and had prospected through the Colorado gold fields, but decided that the commercial opportunities of the new settlement of Denver, while not so spectacular as the mining prospects, were really, in the long run, more certain and substantial than the rather precarious ventures of the 'prospector.' He therefore returned and in the early spring of 1860, even before Lincoln was nominated, embarked with his family at Paducah, Kentucky, and went by way of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers to Kansas City, Mo., which was then practically the jumping-off place.

"A large wagon train was made up there, drawn by oxen. The trip from Kansas City to Denver took many months as they could not travel over ten or twelve miles a day. Each night the wagon train was drawn up in a closed circle with the live stock in the enclosure, while some of the men stood guard. Occasionally they were bothered by the Indians, but not seriously, as there were over one hundred wagons in this train and they were amply able to protect themselves.

"The trip was made without any special adventure and in the summer of 1860 the party reached Denver, my grandmother being the third white woman to arrive in town. My grandfather built a home and established a lumber yard where the Tabor Opera House now stands. In the latter part of 1863 the prospects did not look very bright to the northern sympathizers living in Denver. The confederacy was far from being defeated, and in the little settlement of Denver it looked as if the best that could be expected was a drawn battle with quite a possibility of Colorado becoming slave territory. It was also settled beyond all doubt at that time that the railroad would never be built to Denver. To add to the pessimistic view of things, my grandfather's house burned to the ground in November, 1863. So in January, 1864, he disposed of his lumber business and invested part of the proceeds in a new prairie schooner and returned to "the states." As the Ute Indians had been reported to be preparing for the warpath in the spring, it was

thought advisable to make the trip to Omaha at once, as the Indians were usually inclined to be more peaceable in the winter. Accordingly quite a party of disappointed immigrants and fortune hunters who had found only misfortune left Denver in January and reached Omaha late in March.

"My mother has often described one adventure of this return trip which occurred as they were nearing the end of the journey and were not many days away from Omaha. During the morning the party passed an Indian burial ground. This particular tribe of Indians believed in burying their dead above ground so they could more easily make their journey to the happy hunting grounds. Therefore the fallen warriors were placed on small platforms supported by stakes about six or eight feet high. My mother and a few other little girls, being of an inquisitive turn of mind, decided, when the party stopped for lunch, to walk back and inspect this curious cemetery which they had heard their parents speak of during the morning. After an hour or so of rest, the wagon train resumed its journey, the parents each believing their children were visiting in some other wagon as they frequently did. Along in the middle of the afternoon my grandmother became anxious about my mother and her younger sister. Investigation disclosed the fact that two other little girls of six or eight years were also missing. The wagon train halted while several of the men rode back over the route by which they had traveled. Finally they came upon a friendly Indian who had found the children and knowing they belonged with the wagon train, gathered them up on his pony and was bringing them in when the searchers met him. It was not entirely humanitarian motives which prompted this brave to return the children. In fact, he never could understand why his very liberal offer of several ponies in exchange for the white papooses was not accepted.

"After returning from Denver, the family located in Salem, Ill., later removing to Centralia. My mother remembered one April morning during their first year in Salem when my grandfather came down the street with the tears streaming down his face. My grandmother came rushing out of the house to meet him and learn what the trouble was. The news had just come from the telegraph office that the president had been shot.

"When my mother was sixteen years old her father died. They were then living in Centralia. Within a few months thereafter she began teaching school, which she continued until she was twenty. On June 27, 1877, she and my father were married. In 1880 they came to Chicago. They attended Immanuel Baptist Church until about 1889, when they moved farther south, taking their letter to Memorial Baptist Church. In 1896 she became a member of All Souls Church, where she had been attending the study classes for some time previous to that.

"For several years, about the time of the World's Fair, she was on the staff of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, being connected principally with the literary department. During part of that time she was President of the Illinois Woman's Press Association."

Since 1908 Mrs. Powell has managed the lunch room at the Hyde Park High School with great efficiency. Probably her fidelity to this task so overtaxed her strength that she could not rally from the attack of pneumonia which lasted but two days.

Life was never very easy for Mrs. Powell, but she always made it beautiful. She was so true to her ideals that her daily living was but the simple expression of the great soul within. The humblest task which she performed somehow took on the dignity and power of her personality. A stedfast friend, she understood the meaning and magic and obligation which the word implies. I have often thought she had a perfect genius for friendship. Daughter, sister, wife, mother, friend —the center and life of a beautiful and loving home, she seemed to ennoble every relation of life. Her husband and three sons remain to bless her memory and to speak with pride and gratitude the name of wife and mother.

A wide reader, an enthusiastic Browning student, she delighted in poetry, literature, art and music. Had circumstances permitted, she might have attained distinction on any of these lines, but she did a rarer thing by transmuting all the joy and inspiration she derived from them into the fine art of living.

EDITH LLOYD JONES.

MOODS.

AT CALUMET PARK, SOUTH CHICAGO.

The day seemed perfect. No bluer sky e'er lent its hue
To waves that broke in cadence sweet at my feet;
Beneficent trees and odorous vines their fragrance breathed
And blent with waters bracing tang to minister to life;
The clang of the steel mills, black smoke from chimneys tall,
Children's gleeful voices, and birds and bees
All sang of life and labor, and love and hope;—
But the song of the waves as they rhythmically broke was
Death! Death! Death!

WATCHING AN OLD GRANDMOTHER AND A LITTLE CHILD.

"So many steps—so many miles!"
(Thus is the way begun.)
"So many tears—so few the smiles—
And life is done!"
But step by step we gain the miles
Until the last be run!
And smiles may far exceed the tears—
And Life is won!

AN OVERGROWN PATH.

I passed through the gateway arch
Where once a crimson rambler climbed,
Then stood appalled before the desolation
Of the beauteous old home.
The house, sometimes so cheerful and so hospitable,
Instead of smiling, only leered at me
Through soulless windows and webbed-o'er door;
The yellow rose of the old June times, and
The lilac and syringa trees proclaimed
Their fast approaching deaths.
The path was overgrown, and I went
Haltingly through tangled weeds and grasses—
Then stopped—as a faint sweet odor recalling
Long-lost days, gladdened my heart.
I had brushed a sweet-briar bush, green and sturdy,
Defying time and negligence, though almost hidden
By a dense wild growth of scrubby thorn and bitter-sweet
With its autumn's golden glory.
("Autumn would fain be sunny.")
—Oh, friend of my youth! through the
Long years' silence of overgrown paths
I pray that you may catch and hold some
Sweet-briar memory of our lost days,
Nor let the golden berries of the autumn bitter-sweet
Elude your grasp!

From UNITY, 1917. —*Mary Badollet Powell.*

The World's Judgment as to India's Right to Be Free

The following five principles, affirming the right of all nations to be free, have the sanction of the American Declaration of Independence, of the Supreme Court of the United States, of all the accredited Peace Societies of the United States and Europe and of the highest authorities in International Law in the modern world:

I. "Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and conserve its existence."

Does not this mean India? India is a nation.

II. "Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and should be free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other states."

Does not this mean India? India is the second largest nation in the world.

III. "Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Indpendence of the United States, to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

Does not this mean India? India is a nation of 315,000,000 people.

IV. "Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction of its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein."

Does not this mean India? India is not only a nation, but a highly civilized nation.

V. "Every nation entitled by a right to the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe."

Does not this mean India? India has been a civilized nation since long before the birth of any nation in Europe.

By what law of nations, then, or of God, or of Justice, is India denied her freedom—and full freedom?

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

THE STUDY TABLE

On Jewish Themes

The Religion of Israel. George A. Barton. New York: 1918. The Macmillan Co. 16mo, pp. ix. 289.

A new "Religious Science and Literature Series," under the editorship of Prof. E. Hershey Sneath of Yale University is launched. One of the first volumes to appear is Prof. Barton's *The Religion of Israel.* It is intended for "college undergraduates," and as Prof. Barton is connected with Bryn Mawr, the female undergraduate seems to have been largely in view. That the author is "writing down" to immature minds is evident throughout. This is the one great fault of the book. Next to it, and perhaps due to it, is the author's almost painful effort to find a constant, steady advance in the whole evolution which he traces. Apart from these two criticisms, we find little but praise for the book. Prof. Barton's scholarship is unquestioned and he is here in his home field to which he has made many and valuable contributions. His aim is to make the methods and results of the "higher criticism" known to young people and to incite them and to guide them in further study. He follows the development of Israel's religion from its beginning as the local cult of a Semitic tribe up to its complete form at the time of the dispersion. He studies both creed and ritual. He is at his happiest in the treatment of specific topics, such as the prophets, legalism, angels, demons, and the psalter. While the style is somewhat dry, the true student and the careful reader will not only gain the necessary information, but will acquire the wish to go further. The "topics for further study" at the end of each chapter are carefully worked out and will stimulate and direct a lively interest.

Education in Ancient Israel. Fletcher Harper Swift. Chicago: 1919. The Open Court Publishing Co. 8vo. pp. 134.

In this thoroughgoing study the author practically exhausts the fund of available information. In reality the material is not great and much has had to be supplied from indirect sources or by legitimate inference. During much of the ancient period education was largely a family matter. Boys gained their knowledge from parental instruction and correction or through imitation and participation in the family occupations and ceremonials. With the development of the national religion, synagogue and temple were additional educational influences, and actual schools were established. Dr. Swift treats his subject under the native or pre-exilic period and under the post-exilic period. Before presenting the facts regarding education he gives a general survey of each of the periods. It was in the post-exilic period, 586 B. C. to 70 A. D., that definite instruction as an object in itself, through schools and by teachers, became conspicuous. The author's treatment is analytical and systematic. Each chapter begins with a summary of its content. Tabulation is used to convey clear ideas. A concluding chapter deals with female education, which was indeed distinctly domestic. The author characterizes his bibliography as brief and selected. It is really far wider than the readers for whom the book is intended can or will utilize. The index is exceptionally good.

The World Significance of a Jewish State. A. A. Berle. New York: 1918. Mitchell Kennerley. 16mo. pp. 47.

Recognizing "the Jew himself is a social factor of such importance to the world that his racial and national interests are world interests *per se*," the author considers the proposed Jewish state in its significance to the Christian world. He studies this significance in three aspects—political, sentimental and religious. Under the term sentimental the history of the Jews and their land, the Jewish achievement in letters, science and art, social organization and a variety of other matters are included. The author foresees the future of the Jews in the light of their past, and favors and hopes for a resurgence and reblossoming of ancient Jewish ideals in the restored Zion. He claims that this would be beautiful in itself and beneficent in its world influence.

FREDERICK STARR.

NEWS FROM EUROPE

Serbia and Vienna:

A London paper says:

We learn from a Serbian authority that there is at the moment over 40,000 tons of surplus maize and wheat in Serbia ready for export to Vienna. Owing to the fact that the Rumanians have seized a very large number of railway engines and wagons, there is no means of transporting the food to Austria where it is so urgently needed.

Spain's Future and Revolution:

After all, the King of Spain has accepted the resignation of the Toca Cabinet and asked Señor Dato, the Conservative leader, to form a new administration. Behind the rather unintelligible up-and-down movements of Cabinets in Spain there stands a real fact, what the French call "praetorianism": the power of the officers' clubs. Of their activities and that of their political spokesman, La Cierva, we hear little or nothing though something may be gleaned from time to time from *L'Humanité*. A fortnight ago La Cierva made a violent attack in the Chamber on the Premier, Señor La Toca. Next day the Socialist and Republican deputies in the Cortes attempted to introduce a measure declaring the military associations illegal; it was defeated, the militarists saw their strength. They made a minor court-martial case the excuse for threatening the Government with the collective resignation of the whole body of infantry officers. Señor La Toca thereupon resigned. "Praetorianism," says *L'Humanité*, "is now master in Spain. No resistance will be offered to it by the capitalists of Barcelona or Bilbao, maddened as they are by the growth of Syndicalism. But the proletariat is awake. Bourgeois-Liberalism having faded out, the struggle is going to be between the military juntas and the workers." Clearly the stage is set in Spain for something very like revolution.

The Agony of Vienna:

Sir William Goode, British Director of Relief in Austria, was entertained in London by the American Luncheon Club. In his account to the club of conditions in Central Europe he said:

I have myself recently returned from Vienna. I feel as if I had spent ten days in the cell of a condemned murderer who has given up all hope of reprieve. I stayed at the best hotel, but I saw no milk and no eggs the whole time I was there. In the bitter, cold hall of the hotel, once the gayest rendezvous in Europe, the visitors huddled together in the gloom of one light where there used to be forty. They were more like shadows of the Embankment than representatives of the rich. Vienna's world-famous Opera House is packed every afternoon. Why? Women and men go there in order to keep themselves warm, and because they have no work to do. I never realized before the physiological merit of gregariousness. In a room I had taken as an office, with one small fireplace—empty—I made several experiments at working in overcoat and with blankets for the staff when the thermometer inside was only one degree above freezing point. Finally, I determined to get wood enough to light the one small fire for two days. It cost me 970 crowns, which, to the Viennese, is still equivalent to about £30 or £40. Do you wonder that the well-to-do people in Vienna are burning their furniture to light their stoves? Can you imagine how the poor live, or try to live? It is not unusual to see the traffic in one of the main streets which leads to the cemetery held up by hearses. Nine-tenths carry the bodies of children. A distinguished British Army officer, who has been in Vienna for some time, said to me: "For God's sake, go home and tell them what it's like."

Bolsheviks' Desire for Peace:

Reuter's correspondent at Copenhagen received a statement from M. Litvinoff, the Soviet government's ambassador, which is of great interest. M. Litvinoff said:

Great Britain and America have large economic interests in Russia which can be made more secure by the Soviet Government than any other regime. A Soviet Government will not allow itself to be drawn into any political alliances and combinations as long as the capitalist system continues in the rest of the world, and will therefore discriminate between countries only according to their economic strength and their ability to provide for Russian needs in machinery. It will have to look, therefore, chiefly to Great Britain and America. It is also of capital importance for Great Britain to have peace established in Asia. As to France, the longer war lasts in Russia, and the more that country is thereby ruined, the longer will she have to wait for the payment of interest, and the less possibility will there be for her to get any payment at all.

On Reuter's correspondent suggesting that in the eyes of Western peoples the crucial question was: "Are you prepared to give up the principle of government by a minority and place the Government on a democratic basis?" M. Litvinoff replied: We deny that Russia is governed by a minority. We have no intention at present of departing from the Soviet system, neither is there any intention at present of calling a Constituent National Assembly.

Asked whether they were afraid they would not get a majority if such an Assembly were convoked, he waved the question aside as "metaphysical."

Alsace-Lorraine Today.

The position in Alsace-Lorraine is painful to all sympathizers with France. Every day there are reports either by official agencies or from correspondents showing that the position there is not all easy. Everything goes to show that Alsace-Lorraine as a whole has not yet settled down to the restored French rule. It does not, on the face of it, seem probable that this is in any way directly the fault of the French administration, who, I am assured from a source I cannot doubt, are performing miracles of tact and conciliation there.

The root cause of all the feeling, if we except the strong pro-German that may be supposed to exist, is explained to me as the disillusion of the inhabitants with the new France, which is very different from what their memory and their tradition and their sentiment led them to expect. They remember the France of the Empire and find the France of the Republic very different. Undoubtedly the chief factor in the neutralist agitation, to give it the name fitted to its most prominent features, is the clerical opposition to the regime of separation of church and state which prevails in France itself, and which many wish to give to the recovered provinces. Besides this, there is the strong Socialist group in Strasburg and Metz, which is naturally very internationalist and inclined to be friendly to the Germans with whom they lately lived. Something of the push which brought the German Socialists at last to power undoubtedly still exists among them, though their leaders were during the war ardent French sympathizers, and, indeed, suffered for it.

Below these two main heads of opposition and neutralism there is the economic unrest common to all the inhabitants, who, fed with traditions of the prosperous Empire before the separation, no doubt expected that somehow their re-entry into France would be accompanied by immediate prosperity. It must be remembered that the Germans, though oppressive in matters of sentiment and language, had always rather spoilt these provinces from an economic point of view. The present organization probably compares rather badly, especially in the present strained times, with the administrative machinery, as nearly perfect as possible, of the old German Empire.

But it is hoped that all this discontent will in a few years subside. The issue may well be a strong provincial feeling, which, as it fits in with the way in which many people of widely differing political views are united in the work of reconstruction today in France, may well perform a useful part in the framework of the republic.—*Manchester Guardian.*

Peace with Russia:

Common Sense in an editorial says:

There has never been any doubt that the Soviet Government wanted and wants to make peace, and that on terms highly favorable to the Allies. These terms were officially restated this week in a communication to Colonel Malone, M. P. He wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* a forcible letter, pointing out, as we have repeatedly done in these columns, how strong is the body of opinion in this country in favor of a settlement, and how insane the policy of continued war, and of blockading the one source of supply for famished Europe. From Copenhagen M. Litvinoff has sent out a statement endorsing the terms as given to Mr. Bullitt and stated by Colonel Malone. What now is the obstacle to peace?

H. S. N.

THE FIELD

The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

AN INTERNATIONAL FRATERNITY AMONG WOMEN.

"The Position of Women Is Finally Tested by the Woman Who Has the Least."

Internationalism among women is assured and the children of the world are to reap its benefits. The First International Congress of Working Women is proof.

This loyal band of women who came from all parts of the world to talk over their common problems had one aim—to find an effective means of safeguarding the children of the world from the conditions under which they themselves had suffered. Though they used seven languages to express it, their hearts spoke a common tongue in their desire to guarantee to every child a chance to happiness, to a full development of himself, both in his work and in his leisure.

Interpreters were not really necessary when Mme. Louisa Landova-Stychova, one of the seven members of the new Czecho-Slovak National Assembly, explained in her musical Czech tongue that women had taken an active part in the Czecho-Slovak revolution, so that, as active participants, they might have a voice in the new government and be able to protect their children. Everyone was watching her small expressive face and her eyes, in which burned the light of ancestors who for centuries have fought for the right, regardless of the cost to themselves, and the idealism and poetry of her race. The passion in Mme. Landova-Stychova's voice carried her meaning to all the delegates when she said: "During the war the children were victims of all those who sought labor of whatever kind they could get in order to accomplish their tasks. We women are going to guard against this in the future."

And Mrs. Betzy Kjelsberg of Christiania preluded her statement that women must take the responsibility of deciding upon and enforcing an international minimum age for child labor by saying, "My English is bad, but you all know what my heart says." And everyone did. It was the motherliness of Mrs. Kjelsberg, a large, forceful woman with a merry twinkle in her blue eyes, which told her fellow delegates how she and the women of Norway felt on this question.

No, it was not to gain for themselves a few free hours each day, a few cents more each week, that the National Women's Trade Union League of America made the stupendous effort necessary to bring the Congress into being, or that five strong-hearted women of Poland started on the long trip to Washington, without funds, but with the sincere conviction that America would provide for them in some way.

The delegates were bound together in a spirit of sympathy and understanding which tore down barriers, seemingly overyhelming to the small band of workers charged with making the Congress an actuality. This sympathy carried to successful completion in a few limited days a volume of business which would ordinarily have taken weeks to accomplish. It disregarded differences in language. It overcame all obstacles.

From the moment that Mrs. Raymond Robins, at the very beginning of things, said: "Wherever there is a child not getting a fair chance, it is up to the working women of the world, to give that child its chance; wherever there is a woman suffering because she has not had a fair chance in life, the working women of the world must see to it that no other woman suffers from the same reason, because the position of women is finally tested by the woman who has the least," these women from nineteen nations worked together in fullest cooperation to effect ways and means by which this could be accomplished.

They were looking into the future always, to the time when through their efforts no child might be forced to enter industry before the age of 16 years, and then to work short hours and only during the daytime; to the time when babies might have a fair start in life because their mothers had been granted a sufficient maternity endowment; to the time when no worker, save in cases of public necessity, labors at night or for more than forty-four hours in one week; to the time when free employment bureaus are established and an unemployment insurance is granted to men and women who cannot find work that they and their families need not suffer.

Mme. Marie Majerova, an alderman of the city of Prague, was thinking of women who work in their own homes and are as surely wage-earners as factory workers when she suggested community laundries and bakeries, with perhaps community kitchens as a way in which women could be relieved of many household duties and have more time to devote to their children. It is accepted in Czecho-Slovakia that every mature person spend a certain part of his or her time at tasks useful to mankind, to provide against children working their lives out.

Everyone's energies were absorbed in working for the women of the world and for the future generations. The world, an ideal world in which everyone will have a fair chance, was the only boundary for their thoughts and plans. Demarkation according to trade or to country was not recognized, nor would it have been tolerated in such a group of internationally thinking women.

They pooled their knowledge and their experiences to lay a solid foundation for a great pyramid. The women of the future must complete the structure. It is a sacred trust. The pyramid must be made a thing of beauty, for human lives will be the stones and the mortar.

In the words of Mlle. Cappe: "This Congress means the beginning of a real fraternity among women. We must make it live."

It does live—to meet again in 1920.

Berneice Griswold.

Life and Labor.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES IN THE MIDDLE WEST.

On February 13th, Rev. John Haynes Holmes will leave New York for a three weeks' trip through the Middle West. He will give numerous addresses before churches, forums, city clubs, labor organizations and so forth, in Rochester, New York; Toledo, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; Milwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin; and Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio. He will also speak at several universities under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. His schedule includes something over twenty-five addresses in all.

Mr. Holmes expects to be in Chicago and vicinity from February 20th to 27th. His engagements there as at present arranged during this period are given below. Additional information and further dates will be given next week.

During his stay in Chicago, Mr. Holmes may be reached at the Abraham Lincoln Centre, phone Kenwood 6513.

Chicago.

Friday, Feb. 20, 12:30 p. m.—Luncheon with Fellowship of Reconciliation, Room 302-3, Central Y. M. C. A., 19 S. La Salle St. Phone, Majestic, 8452.

Friday, Feb. 20, 8 p. m.—Address, "The Present Crisis," under auspices of the Committee of Forty-Eight at Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd.

Saturday, Feb. 21, 3 p. m.—Address before Woman's Peace Party, at home of Miss Ella Boynton, 211 E. Ontario St.

Sunday, Feb. 22, 11 a. m.—Sermon at All Souls Church, 700 Oakwood Boulevard. Public cordially invited.

Monday, Feb. 23, 8 p. m.—Address at Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at Wendell Phillips High School, 39th St. and Prairie Ave. "The Race Problem."

Milwaukee.

Sunday, Feb. 22.—First of three lectures on "Is Violence the Way Out?"

Tuesday, Feb. 24.—Second of three lectures on "Is Violence the Way Out?"

Thursday, Feb. 26.—Third of three lectures on "Is Violence the Way Out?"

Madison.

Wednesday, Feb. 25.—Address at University of Wisconsin.

A REMINDER.

Owing to the greatly increased expense of printing and paper, we have found it necessary to increase the subscription price of UNITY from Two Dollars to Three Dollars per year, beginning with the new volume, March 1, 1920. We do this with great reluctance; and in order to afford our subscribers the opportunity of taking UNITY at the old price, we will accept subscriptions at the usual rate, whether new or renewals, until March first. We hope our readers will avail themselves of the chance to renew their subscriptions, to order gift subscriptions, and to induce their friends to subscribe between now and the beginning of the new rate. This month may well be used as a subscription campaign. There are doubtless thousands of people who would enjoy UNITY if they knew of its existence and the position it takes on the issues of the day. We shall be glad to send sample copies to all whose names may be sent us as likely to be interested.

E. Ll. J.

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